The large lobster, Jasus lalandii Lmk., which is evidently caught following the methods of the whites in a flat net set in a round frame and baited with snails, is also eaten. 226 [227]

The animal world of the interior offers more plentiful and tastier nourishment. Various antelopes and cattle are the chief source. There is scarcely any part of the body that is not eaten. That is the only thing that brings any variety into the meat diet, because the preparation of the meat is uniform: boiling it in water; roasting it in the fire; baking it in the hot ashes (the head whole); and drying it in the air are the only recipes. The last method is used with meat that is not eaten immediately or when the hunt has been so successful that not all the meat can be carried home. It is then cut in large thin pieces, salted and dried in the air (/hâ, v.). 224 [262] [252] 251

In order to make even the skin tasty, they first roast it in the fire so that the hair burns off, then cut it in strips, beat it with stones until it is soft and boil it in water or preferably in milk. 252

Meat soup, suro·b, is not highly prized. On the other hand, the fat, either raw or as drippings, is the tastiest thing there is for the Hottentot palate. At times it is drunk hot by the cup. What they cannot finish in one sitting is saved to the last drop: a piece of freshly removed oxskin is shaped into a pompadour while wet and blown up. The bag then dries until it is hard and firm in its shape. Then an opening about the size of a thaler is cut off leaving a sharp edge and a strap is put on as a handle. Into this bag, //gu·bus, they pour drippings or melted butter and close the opening with cow dung. [242] 251 415

However highly the Hottentot prizes the results of the hunt, he reveals himself first of all as a herdsman by his high evaluation of milk. The Hottentot whom culture has not degenerated prefers milk to all other nourishment and in their folk tales it works miracles as the elixir of life. Warm from the cow (°/ai·ǂadai·b) or cooled (°/ãdaib), the fresh milk is mixed with various vegetables according to the time of year: the blossoms of the Acacia horrida willd. (//ha·reb, the flower of the thorn tree) and the green pea-sized fruit [187] of the ebony tree (Euclea pseudebenus E. Mey., called: !na·rus) are chewed and spat into the milk. The green leaves of a plant with a bulb-like form (°/kǂabib) are pressed dry in a pot over the fire and then mixed with milk to make a kind of dough (cf. vegetable foods). 262 252 234 [773] [824]

Milk that has been set aside, partially soured, yet still fluid, is, because it supposedly tastes like urine, called piss milk, °/ũdaib. °aũdaib is milk, soured and allowed to become thick in a pail, the cream of which (!aobeb, also used as sweet cream) is churned into butter.

Making butter, //nubu, is done in the following way: the sour milk is poured from the wooden pail into a calabash, aba·s. This gourd flask, the narrow opening of which is closed with a wooden plug, is rolled at a slant on a soft base that is usually made of skins. This is done in the bright sunlight or near a fire. After rolling for about three hours, the gourd is finally moved so slowly that the butter can collect on the top. Then the fluid is drawn off and drunk, and the butter, aba//nu/i·b, i.e., calabash fat, is piled in a wooden pail (!kxao, verb); it is eaten either fresh (*!kxao//nu/i·b) or fried (*/gē·be//nu/i·b). 415 252 234

To increase the amount of butter the fresh thicker roots of a plant which resembles in habitat a Portulaca of the Kalahari is placed in the milk calabash. Because the body (/xãb) of the plant is well covered (xa) with hairs (/ũ·ǂgu) it bears the name /ũ·ǂxa/kxã·s. 234 252 [824]

The mashi a madila of the Bechuanas corresponds to the */hu·nin/hu·ni-milk of the Hottentots. The fresh milk is poured into a similarly-named calabash which has an opening cut out the width of a hand and is left standing for about two days until it is curdled, leaving a watery sourish fluid at the top and a firm mass at the bottom (!hare·b). 171 234 252

[188] The wooden milk pail (//hoē·s) is preferably carved from the wood of a willow-like tree (xhũi·b) that grows abundantly in the Orange River wadi. A handmade funnel, //kxaru·s, also seems to belong to the original dairy utensils of the Hottentots; I did not get a chance to see it. 415 234

Fresh goat's milk is the chief food of the Hottentot children; the adults also drink it first in order to keep the cow's milk for butter. 234 262

In addition to game from hunting and the products of cattle raising there are many foods of "the little people" as they might be called, which the Hottentot seeks in the wilderness or obtains by chance. An impoverished, nomadic folk has to rely on gathering its food in such a manner. [855]

There are no mammals that the impoverished Hottentot will not eat: mice; hares; rock rabbits; porcupines, "dwarfs" (probably Cynictis penicillata G. Cuv.), wildcats and jackals; I saw them all put in the cooking pot. Even hyenas are eaten. Eating their heart is supposed to make one extremely sleepy, a superstition that evidently originated from the heavy daytime sleep of the hyena. 262 136 [825] [827]

137
262
name to the place Karibib (ǂga·ribeb).

Similar to bulbs are the underground reserves of edible Oxalidaceae. 221
The uientje of the Oxalis genus, called */ũ-/ robis by the Hottentots, is eaten either raw or roasted in ashes. Another kind (ᵑha·/ob) is also crushed in boiling milk. The Oxalis obtusa L. f. (called !kʒa·ros) is [252]
considered poisonous for cattle. The baboon digs up a related non-poisonous kind. [Picture: Grielum humifusum Thbg. 2/3 natural size]

Because of their effect on the body, several field onions should be 137
mentioned here, which have not been classified botanically. The 221
!ha/ni-Uientje (50), (57) is supposed to cause a swelling in the parotid

50. H. Schinz, Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Forschungsreisen (1884-1887) durch die deutschen Schutzgebiete etc. Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891.

57. J.G. Kroenlein, Wortschatz der Khoi-Khoin, Berlin, 1889.

gland if overindulged in. I heard a Hottentot shout at a Bergdamara who had such swollen cheeks: "ǂgara-!goreb kʒoma !hanʒa tanasa ǂ," i.e. "you, with an onion head like a male zebra." The zebra is well-known for its broad head and neck.

It is said of another uientje with yellow blossoms and a brownish-red bulb, that eating too much of it when the plant is sprouting [195] causes blood in the urine. The name, */ao-beb perhaps also alludes to the color of the edible part.

Which plant the Bergdamaras call *!kʒõ-aireb, and which plant corresponds to the */a·mareb of the Hottentots, I was not able to determine.

If one cannot collect the leaves and the blossoms that belong to 137
the underground tuberous objects that the Hottentot digs up, it is 262
usually impossible to classify them. Thus I can only give three names here: Grielum humifusum Thbg. (called: *!kʒu·ib, or *ᵑnãi/nadgai·eb), a Rosaceae with herbaceous juicy branches that creep along the ground and bright sulphur-colored blossoms which furnish the Hottentots a dish from its carrot-shaped underground parts. [Picture, Ceropegia spec. 1/2 natural size.] The same is true of an Umbelliferae, a Peucedanum species. A twining Asklepiadaceae of the Ceropegia family forms edible tubers like potatoes with a yellowish-brown, wrinkled and bumpy surface. The raw tubers are hard but juicy and cool enough to be refreshing.

252 262 415 137 [Picture. Basket Sieve of the Topnaars, 1/3 natural size. Nara Whisk, 1/5 natural size. Nara Cake, 1/4 natural size.]

Each fruit contains about 250 seeds. They remain in the sieve, are spread out to dry and loaded into sacks. The soft inside of the kernel can be bitten out of the shell and is just as tasty as it is nourishing. Most of the seeds are crushed along with the shells, in a large strong wooden cup, to a brown mass that is like coarse meal. [200] This is formed into bite-size pieces by hand and eaten without anything else added.

[329 771] The cup for mashing ǃhai-os (the one depicted here, was carved from the wood of the ana tree [Acacia albida Del.] by a Hottentot) resembles the wooden vessel in which the Boers and the Bastards crush [412] wheat and perhaps stems from it. The pestle, //ō-ab (-arm) comes from the wood of the giraffe acacia [kameeldoorn]. The other Cucurbitaceae (for example, Cucumis, Citrullus and Coccinia) of Namaland are inferior to the nara. Of the gourds, which they call 137 tsa/ma-b, the Hottentots eat only the sweet kind with its meat. 252 Only the cattle eat the foliage and fruits of the bitter kind, 262 ǃnō'robe-tsa/ma-b (Citrullus colocynthis L.). The Bushmen eat its seeds. On the other hand, gourds are decisive for the life of man and beast in large sections of the Kalahari (see above). [Picture. Pestle for naras seeds. 1/3 natural size.]

Of the edible tree fruits, in addition to those of the rasenki bush [Zizyphus mucronatus Willd.] and of the black ebony tree, the "wild fig," /no/ma-s, and the seeds of an Anacardiaceae, a taai bush, (Rhus celastroides Sond., called ǃa-nas) should be mentioned. We will become acquainted with the fruits of the Grewia flava D.C. (called ǂaiǃs) in the Kalahari.

c) The resourcefulness of the Hottentot in his search for food, must have led him long ago to the discovery that certain ants gather seeds that may also be consumed by humans. Thus large black ants, [222] that are not yet classified, gather the seeds of the Kniphofia capensis Thbg. which, enclosed in wing-shaped [illegible], are set fan-shaped in the ribbed fruits. The Hottentots plunder the stores of the ants ("ant food"), roast the seeds in a pan, crush them with stones and eat the meal.

Especially prized are such ant stores that consist exclusively or predominantly of seeds of the Aristida grasses. Such a supply of grass is called tsa-/mab. The women boil them with milk to make a porridge.

[Picture. Anthericum drepanophyllum (Buk.) Schtr. 1/2 natural size. 137
Pelargonium zonale Willd. 5/6 natural size.] 222

The leaves and flowers of the /ũ/robis, of the Oxalis genus are 262
dried in a pan over the fire, crumbled and kneaded in fresh milk when [252]
cooled. The milk then curdles. All the coarse fibrous parts are removed, the leaves and blossoms separate into small pieces and are eaten.

Several compositae offer edible blossoms. The blossoms of two Gazania species (one white and one yellow, both called °!go-bo//nã/s) are eaten with pleasure, either raw or stirred into a porridge in boiling milk with salt.

A number of compositae are grouped together under the collective name °/gĩ-gye/ga-mes, to which those with edible blossoms also belong [203] such as the Berkheya corymbosa D.C. The above-mentioned Hottentot term, however, also includes a Hydrophyllaceae with edible [824] ●
blossoms, Codon Royeni Thbg. and is also used for Compositae which cannot be eaten such as Eremothamnus Mariothianus O. Hffm.). It must also be considered that many of the above-mentioned blossoms are only occasionally eaten by adults, but one cannot pass them by [855]
without any comment, because they are of importance for the nourishment of the children, who have to get along by themselves and can satisfy their hunger with them. The same is true of the gum-resin (hai-rab) of the acacias. [Picture. Codon Royeni Thbg. Natural size.]

3. Luxuries

Luxuries of the natives were formerly infusions made from legumes 222
and herbs of various kinds. Even today the capsules of Ectadium 272
virgatum E. Mey. and the seeds from the pods [204] of the Acacia 137
hebeclada, D.C. which are as long as a finger and stand stiffly upright, are roasted, ground and infused while boiling. Similarly they use the seeds of a pod-bearing bush called !kũã/s, which is easily recognized by its soft leaves, longer than one's finger and piny needles, which are set in pairs at the root of a long, yellow, hard, sharp thorn that is a centimeter long. A fern is also brewed as tea. 177
But since the natives have become accustomed to our coffee and tea, 272
the above-mentioned plants have ceased to be important, at least in the household of the healthy Hottentot. In addition the Hottentot has become a slave to alcohol and tobacco since coming into contact with whites.

302 303 415

//guru-s, shaken into a flat, wooden dish, tsari-s, and purified of the coarser elements by winnowing.

302 415 237

The powder thus obtained is put in a tortoise-shell box, !ũ-ros, which is the indispensable toilet article of every woman and grown girl. The front opening of a tortoise shell is enlarged by cutting out a piece of the belly shield, the back opening is closed up with the blackened rosin of the same plant from which they make beads. [Picture. Buchu boxes. 2/3 natural size.] Sometimes the dried skin and the retracted hind legs of the animal make enough of a closure. Sometimes the back closure is a hardened pulp made from the freshly crushed saliva gland of a cow instead of with rosin. A piece of soft jackal's skin serves as the front closure and as a powder container at the same time. A leather hand strap is pulled through a hole in the belly shell. [829]

302 [515 84] [832]

The men rub only their armpits and neck with buchu but the women rub their whole body except their face. [210] With it they wipe off menstrual secretions and sweat from the skin and I was not able to check the account of one Hottentot that the women also sprinkle the vulva and vagina with buchu in order to win back maidenly charms by the contracting effect of the powder.

[854 764]

Sometimes, because of the pleasant odor, the women incense themselves (/ha(e)ti) with buchu by placing the powder on hot stones and letting the smoke penetrate their clothes. Buchu is sprinkled on the skin swaddling clothes of babies and on the shrouds of the dead, and on graves.

[381]

To make the color of their skins more beautiful, women and girls paint (/ho/bo) their faces. The powder of a piece of clay called !naub, that is colored red by iron oxide is mixed into raw fat that has been made soft by chewing, and the salve is rubbed on the face with a finger. When the stone is lacking, iron rust is used as a substitute. The effect is that of an even brownish-red covering of the face, which even in our eyes, increases the charm of a pretty young face when it is well shaded in.

[384]

A remarkable beauty product is a dark brown sticky mass, which is at times found on the surface of rocks in layers as thick as one's finger and is called "stone sweat," °/u-i aos-(e)ti (cf. Analysis in the Appendix). Little pieces are rubbed on a rock with water as though they were India ink and rubbed over the greased face. The smeary spotty distribution of this make-up is ugly.

The Hottentot women love to paint dark, fantastic masks on their faces. 302
Black or red powder is rubbed with a leather cloth on the face which has 386
been previously greased. They get black powder from the knotty parts of 824
the lower trunk of a Pelargonium, which are thoroughly roasted and then a dusty, crumbly, dark mass can be easily knocked off their bark. Those who prefer red make a powder called *!gu?b from the dry heartwood of a giraffe acacia. When the face is all powdered, the painted parts of the face are sharply outlined with a damp tip of a cloth in front of a mirror. Here and there the face is wiped clean, until the face is partly covered as with a Mardi gras mask, out of which sometimes only the eyes and nostrils peer or perhaps the side parts of the forehead and the cheeks show, according to the taste of the artist.

4. Care of the Hair

Care of the hair is usually completely neglected. Along the coast, 302
the Hottentot sometimes washes his head with the yokes of raw penguin eggs in order [211] to encourage the growth of hair. I never saw anyone with his hair cut. An old-fashioned Hottentot used to brush his hair with the rough, dried mucous membrane of a cow's tongue.

A jackal's tail or a silver jackal's tail corresponds to our handkerchief [283
or they use a thick bushy tail of the Otocyon megalotis Desmar, or at times 289
a bundle of ostrich feathers; *!na-bes or gams is the name of this handkerchief.

The coastal Hottentots have more fleas and the inhabitants of the more [137
elevated parts of the country have more lice.

F. Medicine

The medicine of the Hottentots has not been aided at all by the ex- 826
cellent anatomical knowledge which each person acquires in his childhood 753
from cutting up slaughtered cattle and wild game. They have no or only isolated and confused ideas about the functions of the individual parts of the body and if there is no externally evident reason for the trouble in the sick body, they do not use their anatomical knowledge.

Thus they attribute various pains in the upper leg or even in the lower 757
leg to a falling of the intestines. Massaging in the direction towards the 757
abdomen is supposed to press the displaced intestines back. But first the sick

Syphilis claims many victims.

Although probably based on superstitious fear, the custom of the Hottentots of destroying a hut after a death has occurred in it and rebuilding it somewhere else on new ground is of great practical hygienic value.

Capitulum II

The Hut and Handicrafts

A. The Hut

The hut, o-mi, of the Hottentots is characteristic of nomadic housing. It is airy, yet protected against wind and sun, light in weight, [228] simple in material and in construction and therefore easy to take down, pack up and rebuild in another place.

1. Material and Construction

a) The framework of the hut is best made of thorn tree wood because of its elasticity. Next to be used is the more brittle hakjes (Acacia detinens Burch.) thorn. Other woods are used only as a last resort.

The dome shape of the hut demands that the framework of the hut have a definite curve.* The freshly polled and trimmed branch (about

*This curve is the basis of a Hottentot designation for rainbow as tertium comparationis: ǂa-biha-/nab, i.e. "rain hut-pole."

5 centimeters across at the base) is placed flat on the ground. One end and the middle are weighted down by heavy stones. The free end is bent and braced against a stone block and kept in this position until the wood has dried and therefore stays bent. Or they place the branches in bundles upright in the ground, tie the free ends together, bend them down and hold them with a strap which is anchored to the ground. [Picture. Framework of a Hut].

The finished poles for the framework, !ha/nagu, are sunk in the earth vertically, making a circle with a diameter of 3 and 1/2 to 5 meters. They use from 20 to 60 poles, depending on the size of the hut. The upright parts form the framework for the walls and the thin curved ends the framework for the roof. The whole structure looks like a beehive. The finished framework looks like a wide-meshed woven net. It is about 2 and 1/2 meters high on the average. [229] Wherever the poles meet or cross, they are tied together with thongs or bast strings. The poles with a flat arc which go into the ground at a sharp angle and form the lower part of the wall are specially designated as °!na/nihaigu. There are usually four pairs of these. Larger huts sometimes are given necessary support by a pole the thickness of an arm which is sunk upright into the ground in the middle of the hut and supports the middle of the roof. The Bechuan hut also has this feature. Correspondingly it is called °/gurihaib or kx̃ã!nab, also °/naĉhaib, because it stands in the "navel" of the hut. The men build the framework of the hut.

b) The mats which form the roof and walls are made by the women. The material for making the mats is furnished by a reed grass, usually called rush, a Mariscus species, of the Cyperus genus from stalks glistening with fat and therefore called /hu· mi·haru s by the Hottentots. The plant is abundant in watery places. [Picture. Cyperus, Reed for a Mat Hut.] [Picture. Bone Needle for Sewing Mats. a) side view, b) full view. 2/3 natural size.]

The reeds are pulled out one by one (not cut) and put aside until dried.

Piecing and hemming (kx̃u·iam or °kx̃u·im) a mat requires a great deal of work. The woman sits in the manner described earlier (cf. p. 181) on a skin on the ground. The mat she is making lies in front of her, irregularly rolled up. She takes about 20 reeds from a loose heap, which is piled up beside her, places the bundle in front of her feet, adds the new reeds to those already bound. The toes of her right foot hold the reeds in the desired position on the ground while she is doing this. To sew the reeds together she uses a bone needle, °/kx̃a·ru nã·b, made from a rib or a leg bone. The woman holds the threaded bone needle with her left hand and with her right she pushes 3 to 5 reeds at a time over the point so that they are pierced through. [230] Then the speared reeds are drawn off the needle onto the bast thread and added to the ones already in a row."

"In Little Namaland I saw that the mats are not pierced by the threaded needle but by a

did 50 years ago. I learned from such people. 281

1. Tanning, /no·ro, in the broadest sense (usually women's work). [462]

a) The process itself involves the following techniques: The freshly removed skin is first spread out to dry with the hairy side up, usually on the hut so that it will be safe from dogs.

When the skin is dry and hard, it is softened up with the juice of succulent plants which are pounded (°/a·mai) into the fleshy side of the skin. [824]

The excess liquid is poured off and the skin rolled up so that it will not get dry too soon. The woman then kneels on the roll, after she has spread out flat just as much as she can work at a time. The fleshy side of the skin is sprinkled with sandstone powder and briskly rubbed (/nũ!) with a piece of tanning stone (°/kyoms) the size of one's fist. [413]

When the sandstone has rubbed off all the scraps of meat, they let the skin get half dry again, full it (/no·ro in the narrower sense) and knead it then as they would laundry and then rub soft fat into the outer side.

The skin is now certainly dry and pliable but if it were soaked through by the rain, it would again become hard and brittle when dry. To prevent that, the skin is tanned with the crushed and softened red bast of the Acacia horrida Willd. (°basi, probably borrowed). Then the skin is placed for an hour in red bast lye, with the bark bundles wrapped in it, until it is saturated. It is half dried again, [234], and then spread out for about another half hour in a flat trench and covered (//ha/n) with slightly dampened sand. In conclusion a man takes the skin by the tail, another by the head, women and children grasp the sides and they pull and stretch it smooth. [824] [386]

Finally dried in the sun, the skin is permanently soft, rainproof and dyed a pretty reddish-brown on the inside.

b) Useful objects made from tanned skins are: α) Floor skins, ǂgo'a·n. They are the carpets of the huts. Young cattle, goats, sheep, springbok and duikerbok furnish the material. A single skin of this kind is called ǂgo'a·s. ǂgo'a·b is the large rug which consists of about six floor skins that are cut and sewn together with strips of sinews. 281 352

β) Skin covers, "Kompersen," ǂna·mti, made from sheep, jackal, Octoyon megalotis Desmar), rock-rabbit or lynx skin, used as a fur cloak or kaross, a comfortable, solid and warm article of clothing for women (see Plate X.). Today it has been almost entirely replaced by European clothing. 281 291 [177]

word stem doro· which means "to bore." That is a vestige from the time when the original means for making fire, long since in disuse, were little boring sticks such as the Bushmen still use today (cf. Kalahari). 196 372 [111]

b) The upper leather is cut from the stomach skin of an oryx, a cow, or young calves. If absolutely necessary they use the fresh skin of old animals. The treatment is the same as that for knapsack leather. [Picture. Doro //hõ/s, about 1/4 natural size.] 281

c) The half-grown Hottentot cuts his back apron from the skins of a goat, steinbok or klipspringer. (cf. Plate XI). Sometimes three long straps about 4 centimeters wide hang from the bottom edge of the apron down to the ground. They consider it decorative when the straps flap in the wind.

C. Rope Making

The building of huts and the making of useful skin and leather objects (called sa·ran, when they are used directly on the body as covers or clothing) require rope and thread. The sinews of wild and domestic animals supply the best thread for sewing skins together. But for sewing mats together bast thread, tsu·rib, not sinew thread, //aba·b, is used. 283

The best material for making rope is furnished by the Acacia horrida Willd. The freshly topped branches are cleaned of twigs and thorns and quickly drawn through the hot ashes of the fire. The bark is then banged loose from the wood at one end of the branch, freed with the finger nails and pulled off in strips. [824]

The rest is women's work. The outer bark, soro·b and the layer of red bark lying underneath, *basib (probably borrowed) are not used for making rope. Only the innermost white layer, which is easily slit off, is usable. From these white fibers, /ãb, the wet [242] layer that lies directly next to the wood is separated from the outer, tougher layer that is not wet. The fibers are hung up to dry, later softened again in lukewarm milk (in an emergency in water), put in the mouth in lumps, sucked dry, and chewed up. Now the fibres are ready to be twisted into rope.

The following work the women do not like to do and sometimes refuse to do in the presence of young men. Sitting sideways on the floor, they bare one of their legs nearly to the hips. [516]

completely healed after several days, the needle is removed and replaced by an earring. There were many complaints about painful swelling of the ear lobes after being pierced. [Picture. Iron earrings. 9/10 natural size.]

Necklaces of rosin beads are one bit of jewelry which holds its own against all imported bright glass kinds, even though difficult to make and unassuming in appearance. [252] The yellow rosin of an Othonna species (called ≠gũ/s) is rubbed with the cold coals of the hearth fire. This mixture (a powder) is warmed with a burning piece of wood and kneaded with the other hand at the same time. The warm mass is rolled into sausages with the flat of the hand on a smooth surface. Little pieces are taken from these sausage rolls and formed into pills over the fire. The pills are put on slivers of wood (so that the wood goes through them) and after hardening, strung on sinew, often alternating regularly with bright stones or glass beads. The bead necklaces (called the same as the plant from which they are fashioned) are often combined to a thick bundle of chains, °//ga·/mi, which has good trading value among Hottentots. A chain which will wind ten times loosely around the neck and reach down to the breast has the value of a nanny goat. [Picture. Necklaces. Top and bottom: made of rosin. In the middle: made of ostrich eggshells.]

Imported glass beads are popular. The large-beaded necklaces are differentiated by the word !a/ms from the small-beaded ones °ga·rab. Ankle rings, °!go·ro!kxu·ib, consisting of thickset rows of little glass beads, are still occasionally worn under the skin shoes.

[253] Capitulum III

The Hottentot's Mode of Living

Great Namaland, a typical dry area of South Africa, has such scanty growth in its limited area that it cannot provide the animal world with sufficient food and water. The characteristic animals of the South African grassy plains, at the same time its most valuable wildlife, the antelopes, must roam over extensive areas just to get a meager living. Like the predatory animals, the hunters follow these herds; wherever the native has exchanged this unsettled way of life, which one day leaves him in need, the next day with a surplus, for the regulated life of a herdsman, he finds himself forced more than ever to wander, the more numerous his cattle (/go·an) become. [Picture. South African ox wagon.]

at one sitting. In other cases the calf is permitted to suck for a second time. The milk, which the cow gives then, the "after-milk," /gubib, is, according to the Hottentots, thicker and also much yellower than the first milk which they call ai-daib or "pre-milk." The after-milk is therefore thinned with water. The milk which the cow gives after the calf has sucked for the third time, is called °tsaũ/gubib, the fourth milk °tsaũ!gã//gubib. But the cow is rarely milked in this fashion to the last drop. 233

From the usual after-milk the Hottentot distinguishes a milk called ǂnunidaib, which is obtained when the cow has pastured for several hours after the first milking and then is milked again after the calf has sucked a second time.

The milk, //ha/mi, "biesmilk," that is drawn off immediately after calving is considered harmful to the calf because it curdles into a hard mass in the stomach. The Hottentot values it all the more for himself. He usually drinks it boiled and diluted with regular milk. [272] The cow's teats must not come into direct contact with this milk and therefore are moistened with saliva. If the udder is inflamed the ailing parts are rubbed with a salve made of fat and powdery spores of a mushroom (°ǂhirasãǂb, i.e. hyena buchu). If the biesmilk is yellow, it is called °!kã//gyere//ha/mi, after a bush with yellowy green leaves. If it is white it is called °da//ha/mi. [824]

d) The management of the herds of a cattle owner in Great Namaland, which for the reasons mentioned above extends over a wide area, is simplified by the dryness which makes so much land necessary. Water stays permanently at only a few places well-known to man and beast and both know also where you can find temporary watering places after a good rain. These are the ideal gathering places for the scattered animals. [312]

Only the full-grown cattle have complete freedom to roam since they need neither protection nor guidance. The oxen, go/ma·gu, depending on the time of year, come every 2 to 3 days and sometimes every 4 to 5 days to the watering places and are easily captured while they are drinking when they are needed for work. In emergencies they must be sought in the field. [259] The man who has this job can recognize by the tracks which cross his path in all directions which are surely those of his herd. Further, he can pick out the track of the particular ox he is seeking among them all. Senses which have been

233

*//kχao//an//gõ!b. //kχaob· is the big poisonous thorny spurge (see [824] p. 150) that everyone avoids. This "pasturing bull" attacks all other bulls and uncastrated [261] calves and sometimes pursues men. One sees him pushing his horns into the ground.

If the pasture land is bad for a long distance away from the settlement, the cattle are sent for weeks or months away into the farthest fields under the supervision of one or several herdsmen, who stand guard over the cattle (!haro//an or //gaũmaĩ//an).

e) Whereas the bull goes his own way undisturbed all year round, at times half wild, and the cow peacefully lets herself be outsmarted at the milking pole, the young ox must be subdued if he is to be of any use. As long as the ox is untrained, he is called *kχamgo/mab, young ox, no matter how old he may be. [Picture. A South African ox wagon with a span of 18 oxen. The driver with the long zweep, 1/4 the leader squatting, and the oxen guard in the wagon.]

The Hottentot who has the job of catching the young untamed ox, quickly makes his way through the crowd of cattle in which the ox is standing and places a stick between its legs. On the stick is the noose of a "catching strap" about 10 meters long. The frightened animal jumps forward with one foot, it does not matter which one, and is caught. Four to six men hold tightly to the other end of the strap and wait until the animal has more or less worn itself out with raging. Then two men approach the ox cautiously from behind, the one to the right, the other to the left, holding a long strap right across the back of the ox. When the strap is across the horns of the ox, one man goes [262] around the ox at a respectful distance, makes a noose and lets the other man tighten it. While the animal is now drawn to one side by the men with the "catching strap" and by the one who holds the noose on his horns, another man twists the animal's tail in an arc across its back in the opposite direction with such violence that the ox falls down and gives up all resistance. The Hereros are said to do the same [171] thing.

I have not observed how the Hottentots castrate, dabi·, the animals. I found out from the natives that formerly rich Hottentots celebrated the successful conclusion of a mass castration by slaughtering a calf. The meat was supposedly boiled with the testicles of the castrated animals and mashed. When the horns of the calves are between the length of the little finger and a hand, they consider it the proper time for castrating. A bull that is castrated later is distinguished from the other oxen by the term *kχoa·kχoa·dabi·b, because he has become

232 233

1/4 [i.e., whip. -Analyst]

§)Differences in the word-tone, accent and initial tone level (only the third is indicated in the word-tone, otherwise it is assumed to be a 1/2 tone):

1.	/a·rab	(3, f.)	=	the annoyance
	/ara·b		=	rib
	/a·ʔrab		=	the crack
2.	//a·ri		=	yesterday, tomorrow
[359]	//aʔri·		=	to pulverize (in the language of the Namib nomads: !oʔʔn)
3.	!a·ba		=	to climb up
	!aǂba·	(3, st.)	=	to scratch
4.	χoa·		=	to scrape
	χoʔa		=	to write
5.	χuru·b		=	powdered coals
	χuǂru·	(3, st.)	=	to pull out
6.	χu·bu		=	to pulverize tobacco
	χuǂbu·	(3, st.)	=	to drink from [sip]
7.	gara·		=	to be cool
	gaǂra		=	to have German measles
8.	gaǂro·	(3, st.)	=	bend, bow
	ga·ro		=	to dry out, become thin, to be hard
9.	/ga·bi		=	to sprinkle
	/gaǂbi·s	(3, st.)	=	the cup
	(/gabi·		=	to be high)
10.	//gaǂe		=	to imitate
	//gaɛ·		=	to chew
11.	//ga·mi		=	water
	//gaǂmi·	(3, st.)	=	to bend the head
12.	//ga·nas		=	the giraffe acacia, (Cape D. kameelboom)
	//gaʔna·s		=	name of a plant that is like a fig tree that grows frequently in the cliffs near Kubub. The inner soft skin of the root is eaten raw.

[262 824]

*539 "mouth part") of the ax broke (ǂkχõa). Then he said: "How (matisa) is this, mother?" (ais). And she replied: "That [is] no (toma "not," ǂ, suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. neut.) thing that is supposed (nĩ, verbal particle of the fut.) to sound (ᵓ!naũ) like that (ti) [when it] talks" (mĩ). Then they uncovered it and saw that (!kχaiẽ) it was a stone. Then they killed (!gam) the woman (tarasa) immediately (/ãse) and ate (õ) her up.

[396] [Text omitted]

Translation of II

The Two Women Who Were Taken Along by Aigamuchab

And it happened this way (hĩhe "was done"): Two (/gam) women (kχoẽra) had gotten lost (!kχoẽ "to hurry," /ari "to lose"). And they came (/kχĩ) to (ai) the place (!kχaib) where Aigamuchab refused (//hã, ta = ra) cattle food (//ũna, neut. pl.).* Then they

[283 329]

*The smooth, shiny, yellowish, inner-most layer of fibers of the bark of the thorn tree, which tastes sweet, is sucked and then twisted into twine.

[called]: "Man, [you] who (-ẽ, suff. of the 3rd pers. sing. neut.) are hammering (!gõ!gõ) there (nẽba), take (ũ) us* to the (//ga) kraal!" (//gãũs, p. 232).

*Literally: "one," kχoẽẽ = "person" in the neut. sing., corresponding to our impersonal "one." This indefinite manner of expression is preferred to the personal pron. of the 1st pers. if the request is made to a stranger. In this form I heard women ask strange Hottentots for tobacco.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

matches, while the young women look on and applaud the successful competitors, and the younger children amuse themselves with games of various kinds, until the night is advanced and gradually they all turn in to sleep.

Food and Narcotics

In the summer, after good rains, milk is abundant, and the people then live almost entirely upon it.[1] The fresh milk, either warm from the cow or cooled down, is mixed with some vegetable substance, such as the green leaves of the ebony wood, which are chewed and spat into it, or the sap of the acacia; and the thick sour milk thus produced forms the staple article of diet for the Hottentots. It is kept in beautifully simple vessels carved from wood, and is carried about in soft skin bags. Some of it is also converted into butter. The milk is poured into a calabash, the narrow opening of which is closed with a cork. Occasionally the freshly-cut thick roots of a certain plant (? *Portulaca sp.*) are put in with the milk to increase the yield of butter. The calabash is rolled to and fro on some skins, in full sunlight or near the fire; and after about three hours of this rolling it is gently shaken, so that the butter which has formed can gather on the surface. The remaining liquid is then run off and drunk, and the butter heaped up in a wooden pail. It is partaken of either fresh or fried with various edible plants. Some of it is also used for greasing the skin. The children live chiefly on fresh goats' milk, which is also much used by adults, in order to save as much of the cows' milk as possible for making butter.

In winter, when owing to the lack of adequate pasture milk is scarce and it is a hard struggle to find food for themselves, the men go out hunting, or set traps and snares, and in this way obtain the bulk of their meat supply. Even the wealthy cattle-owners seldom slaughter their stock merely for food, save on ceremonial occasions, when a feast has to be provided. The animals hunted for food formerly included all sorts of buck, as well as the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, giraffe, zebra, and ostrich, and even beasts of prey such as the wild cat, red cat, leopard, hyena, and jackal. Nowadays, with the disappearance from the country of most of these game animals, and with the enforcement of the game laws, hunting naturally

[1] The fullest account of Hottentot foods is given by Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, 184–206; cf. Kolb, *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 96 sqq.; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 325–6; Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, 91–3; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 220–22.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

262 [761]

and to youths who had passed through the puberty rites.[1] This taboo was apparently associated with the myth connecting the hare with the origin of death, which we have already met with among the Bushmen also. Even this restriction, however, seems now to have lapsed. The older writers on the Cape Hottentots mention several other food restrictions in addition to that on the hare. Thus, according to Graevenbroeck, wild pigs, hyenas, lions, and other carnivorous animals were regarded as impure and not fit to be eaten. It was also "deemed unlawful" to taste butter and eggs, while only children were permitted to nourish themselves upon sheep's milk, which was looked upon as dangerous to adults.[2] Kolb, again, states that pig's flesh and fish without scales were forbidden by custom to both sexes; that the men only might not eat the hare or the rock rabbit, or drink the milk of sheep, while the women, on the other hand, were forbidden the "pure blood of beasts" and the flesh of the mole.[3] Thunberg, again, says that the men never drank milk that had been drawn by women[4]—a statement which may be compared with Albrecht's report that many orthodox Naman believe their cows will give no milk if the women were to drink cows' milk, since this is "good only for the men", hence the women must content themselves with the milk of the sheep and goats.[5] It is questionable how far these statements can be accepted as entirely accurate, but they seem at least to suggest that there must have been some special regulations regarding the drinking of milk. Unfortunately there is no other information at all to throw further light upon this important point. Finally, even at the present time, according to Vedder, "a real Nama never eats the flesh of a wild dog, a monkey, a hyena, jackal, a lion or a hare. He believes the meat of these animals to be impure and injurious to health. But this custom is also slowly disappearing."[6]

276 824

As narcotics the Hottentots formerly used infusions of various legumes and herbs. Even to-day the capsules of *Elladium virgatum E. Mey.* and the seeds of *Acacia hebeclada D.C.* are still roasted, ground down, and brewed with water. But increasing familiarity with the tea and especially the coffee introduced by the Europeans

272

[1] Cf. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, 328–9; Wikar, "Berigt aan ... Plettenberg," 118–19; Olpp, "Aus den Sagenschatz der Khoi-Khoin," 46–7.
[2] "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 364.
[3] Op. cit., 96–7.
[4] *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia*, ii, 42.
[5] "Beobachtungen im Gross-Namalande," 205.
[6] "The Nama," 129.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

has caused the old native brews to fall into general disuse, except perhaps in case of illness. The Naman also sometimes still make a kind of mead out of wild honey. The honey is diluted with water, and then brewed with the help of various roots or fleshy stems, e.g. *Pachypodium namaquensis*, so as to produce fermentation. European alcoholic liquors, however, find far too ready a market amongst them now, and excessive drinking is by no means unusual, especially among the detribalized people.

Tobacco, which they did not cultivate themselves, the Hottentots soon learned to appreciate when it was introduced amongst them by the Bantu and by Europeans. It has now come to be almost indispensable to them. Practically all men and women, and even the children, make use of it. Occasionally it is chewed, but far more generally it is smoked. The men often make their own pipes out of serpentine, which they cut with a knife into hollow tubes shaped somewhat like a cigar; or else they use the marrow bone of a medium-sized mammal. The mouth edge of the pipe is thickly stuffed with grass, so as to prevent the ashes of the tobacco from being swallowed; and in company the pipe is passed round from person to person, each taking several deep inhalations to the fullest capacity of his lungs before passing it on to his neighbour. Dagga[1a] was formerly also used to a considerable extent, and indeed, according to Kolb, the smoking of dagga was a frequent, even an essential, accompaniment to some of the ceremonies. Nowadays it is much less easy to obtain, for owing to its definitely injurious effects when taken in excessive quantities its cultivation and sale have been restricted by the Government. The Cape Hottentots used to smoke it in horn water-pipes similar to those of the Cape Bushmen.[1]

Sexual Life and Marriage

Extra-Marital Sexual Relations

The sexual life of the Hottentots is no longer so strictly regulated as it seems to have been in the old days. There is now apparently great freedom of intercourse tolerated before and also practised after marriage. Formerly premarital unchastity was severely condemned among the Naman, and even penalized. A girl who had gone wrong was thrashed by her parents, or with their consent, in the presence of her lover, who then received a similar punishment. These beatings were administered under the direction of the head

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 104-5; Albrecht, loc. cit.; Schultze, op. cit., 204, 248.

[1a] [Either Indian hemp, or one of two relatively non-toxic herbs, Leonotis leonurus or L. ocrata. — Analyst]

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

842 As a rule boys are preferred to girls, since they increase the military strength of the tribe and help to defend its herds, as well as to augment them on raiding expeditions.[1] There is no record, however, of any observances or food specially designed to secure the birth of male children, although, as we have seen, the husband of a woman who has only borne daughters may take a concubine.

847 [842] [825] Women who do not want children achieve their aim mainly by abortion, which is not infrequently practised. Contraceptives are apparently unknown. The principal abortifacient is the inspissated urine and fæces of the rock rabbit or dassie (*Hyrax capensis*), gathered from the clefts and crannies it inhabits. A decoction of this, boiled and strained, is taken in large doses, if necessary for several days in [824] succession. A certain thorn bush (*Sarcocaulon sp.*), pounded whole and boiled, is also used, while still another method is to keep binding the abdomen tightly round with leather straps until delivery is forced on.[2] No motives are given by our authorities for abortion, although presumably it is practised chiefly in case of illegitimate 847 pregnancy. According to Wandres, both the woman and anybody 682 assisting her to procure abortion are, if discovered, brought before the tribal council and punished by thrashing, while at least five sheep or goats are claimed as court fees. The usual number of lashes for such an offence is forty, of which the woman's lover can, if he wishes, take over twenty.[3] The same punishment was given to a pregnant woman if the women massaging her found on her abdomen the striations of an old, secret delivery.[4]

843 The first symptoms of pregnancy, according to Hottentot ideas, are usually not the cessation of menstruation, but the onset of sickness, vomiting, lack of appetite, etc., providing that the woman does not normally suffer from these complaints. From the time that she feels herself pregnant, she is carefully massaged on the abdomen two or three times a week, for an hour to an hour and a half at a time, by two of the old women of the camp, who take note of the growth and position of the fœtus. Conception, according to their ideas, takes place in the bladder, where a second bladder is formed in which the embryo is then enclosed. The uterus is only an appendix to the

[1] Von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 27; Schultze, "Südwestafrika," 206–7.
[2] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 320; Leidler, "Magic Medicine of the Hottentots," 443, 445, 446; Wandres, "Ueber das Recht der Naman," 668.
[3] Wandres, loc. cit.; cf. Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 355.
[4] Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 319.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

852 source of water. It seems also that the mother is ceremonially reintroduced to water in the same way as in the remarriage ceremony, except that here it is the older women who have looked after her during her confinement who free her from all her restrictions.[1]

844 184 Kolb's description of the birth customs among the Cape Hottentots agrees in the main with that given above for the Naman, but contains a few additional details.[2] When the time for delivery is at hand, the patient is assisted by two or three of her near female relatives, as well as by the midwife of the kraal, who is specially summoned. As soon as the latter enters the hut the husband must leave it, and may not enter [783] again until the birth is over. Should he do so, he becomes "unclean", and must purify himself by slaughtering a sheep for a special cleansing meal in which the other men of the kraal take part.

815 757 If the birth goes easily, all is well. When, however, it is unusually protracted, the women make a decoction of finely cut tobacco and cow's milk, or, where the latter is not available, sheep's milk; strain it, and allow the milk to cool. It is then handed to the patient to drink, in the belief that it will increase the pain and thus lead to a speedy delivery, or else cause strong vomiting which at the same time expels 844 the child. The new-born baby may not be cleaned with water, which they say is "unhealthy". Instead it is rubbed all over with moist cowdung; when this has dried and fallen off, the baby is washed in • [829] the juice of the Hottentot fig (*Mesembrianthemum edule*), which will make it nimble and fleet of foot; then smeared all over with freshly-melted sheep fat or butter, and finally powdered with *buchu*.

The afterbirth is buried in a hole in the ground, together with the blood flowing from the woman. This is all collected on the skin upon which she has lain from the beginning, and on which she must continue to lie as long as the blood flows from her. When the flow ceases, and the woman can or may arise, the skin is wrapped up together with the blood, etc., upon it, and is buried, so that no sorcerer may get at it and use it to work evil magic. The umbilical cord is 846 bound with a piece of sheep's sinew until it falls off; there is no mention of any special usage connected with it.

Before meeting again after the birth, husband and wife must both rub their bodies down anew with cowdung, smear themselves with

[1] Hoernlé, "The Social Value of Water among the Naman," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xx (1923), 524, 525–6.

[2] *Vorgebirge der Guten Hoffnung*, 64–6; cf. Germann, "Bilder aus der sexuellen Ethnologie der Hottentotten," *Geschlecht und Gesellschaft*, xii, 324–6; Graevenbroeck, "Uit den Ouden Tijd," 2–4 *passim*.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama
Cape Hottentots

233 the early morning they are again allowed to drink, then are driven out into the veld in a different direction from the cows. Here they remain under the continuous watch of the herd-boys, who drive them back to the kraal in the evening. Only when a calf grows really thin is it allowed to accompany its mother in the veld.[1]

Occasionally, if the pasture round the settlement is poor, the cattle are driven far into the veld under the care of a few herdsmen, who keep them at outlying posts for weeks and even months. A wealthy cattle-owner may have several of these cattle-posts, which either he or his chief herdsman inspects from time to time by personal visits.[2] As a rule, however, each family remains and moves with its own herds, sometimes even acting independently of the rest in the search for water and grass.

[824] It may be noted here that herdsmen often carry as charms pieces of a certain shrub called */akib*. If cattle have gone astray one of these pieces is burned in the fire, in the belief that this will keep the animals safe till they can be found the next morning, and will prevent their being destroyed by wild beasts.[3]

No attempt is made to control the breeding of the cattle. The bull is at all times allowed free access to the herd, in the veld and at water. The months at the end of the second rainy season, March and April, when the pasture is at its best, are the favourite time for jumping, and the bull then follows close on the heels of the cows. At the beginning of the dry season it separates from the herd and roves in the veld till the next rains, only coming to the fountain when there is not enough water elsewhere. Its movements are apparently quite unrestricted.[4]

The proportion of bulls is nowhere indicated, but is almost certainly quite small, since a large number of oxen are required for domestic purposes. The young bulls are gelded when their horns are just beginning to show. The Cape Hottentots, according to Kolb, bound the scrotum closely and tightly, so as to cut off communication with the spermatic vessels, the calf then being allowed to run in that condition till the testicles rotted off.[5] Schultze was unable to learn the method of gelding employed by the Naman. He mentions, however, that according to his informants the successful "castration" ("Kastrierung") of a number of calves was formerly celebrated by a feast, consisting of the meat of a specially-slaughtered calf cooked

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 79; von François, op. cit., 277-8; Schultze, op. cit., 258-60; Fidelskio, *Scenes and Adventures in Great Namaqualand*, 83-4.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 261; Wanderer, op. cit., 678. [3] Hahn, *Tsuni-//Goam*, 82.
[4] Schultze, op. cit., 260, 277. [5] Op. cit., 79.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

fishing, which are still practised to a considerable extent where conditions permit. Hunting by pursuit has now taken on a European colour, owing to the introduction of firearms and the horse. In the old days it was carried on mainly with the bow and arrow and with the spear. Of these weapons the bow took a secondary place. Like that of the Bushmen it was crudely made from a single piece of elastic wood, generally *Grewia flava*, and strung with a cord twisted from antelope sinew. The arrows in general were similar to those of the Bushmen. The type most commonly found had a thin, triangular point of iron, fitted in a notch in the end of a short bone foreshaft, which again was inserted into a main shaft of reed, some eighteen inches long and feathered at the butt. They were often coated with poison, usually prepared from the condensed milk sap of the *Toxicodendron capense*, and were carried in quivers made from the hollow bark of the *Aloe dichotoma* or from ox or antelope hide. The principal weapon, however, was the spear. This had a narrow pointed iron blade, some six inches long and fixed by means of a tang to a long wooden shaft tapering to a point at the butt. The kirri or throwing-stick, a short straight club knobbed at the end, was also generally used.[1] With the exception of the latter, these weapons have been completely superseded by European firearms. It is interesting to note, however, that among the Naman of to-day bows and arrows are still used by the children as toys.[2]

The Hottentot methods of hunting, as described by the older writers, seem on the whole to have been much the same as those of the Bushmen. The Hottentot hunters are praised highly for their skill in stalking game, and are said to have been so light-footed that they could outrun the fleetest animals. The game was chased in the heat of the sun, when the hot sand burned its footpads and wore it out, till at last it was an easy mark for the arrow of the hunter. Or, again, the solitary hunter would proceed to a spot whence he could survey the country around him. Should anything be sufficiently near, he looked for a covert of shrubs, trees, or the sandy bed of a river, taking care to keep if possible to leeward, lest the animal should scent him and decamp. Along this covert he stealthily crept, often on hands and knees, till opposite the game; then quietly raising his head he would take deliberate aim and shoot his poisoned arrow.

[1] Kolb, op. cit., 125–7; Le Vaillant, *Voyage dans l'Afrique*, ii, 48–51; Barrow, *Travels in S. Africa*, i, 149; Thunberg, *Travels in . . . Africa*, ii, 43.
[2] Lichtenstein, op. cit., ii. Schinz, op. cit., 102.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

making the front apron of the women. Others are still converted into bags for holding discarded odds and ends which may later be useful. Two skins are fitted and sewn together all round the edges, except for a small opening left at one side and just big enough to admit the hand. Others again are made into pillows, by cutting two skins into squares of the same size, which are sewn together round three of the edges, the interior then filled in with feathers or hair, and the remaining side finally closed up. Ox or gemsbok hides similarly treated are cut in ever-narrowing spirals from the edges inwards into long strips. These are used as binding-thongs, or else are twisted into ropes for securing oxen. In the latter case the wet newly-cut strip is suspended from the branch of a tree, twisted round tightly and weighted down by means of a heavy stone attached to the lower end. It is then continuously twisted in alternate directions by means of a stick inserted just above the fastening to the stone, until at the end of four or five days the rope is permanently round, hard, and supple. It is then cut up into the lengths desired. Lashes for whips are made in the same way, and plaited together.

In other cases the skin of the animal is not specially treated, but is simply converted into bags of various kinds, such as knapsacks for carrying objects needed on the march, and smaller bags for *buchu* roots, herbs, tobacco and so on. An interesting bag of this kind is that used for holding milk or water. A freshly-killed goat, calf, gemsbok, or steenbok is cut open all along one side, from the left foreleg right up to the shoulder. Through this opening the whole body is shelled from the skin, head and legs having been first cut off. Then all the openings are sewn up, with the exception of that for the right foreleg, which serves as a spout for pouring the liquid in and out, and has a stone cock which can easily be tied fast. The fresh skin is turned inside out, the inner side cleaned of all particles of flesh and fat, and then it is dried. The hairs remain on the inner side of the bag.

The thread with which skin objects are sewn together is generally animal sinew, and so formerly was the bowstring. Strings of varying thickness are also made from the bark fibre of the *Acacia horrida Willd.* The branches of the tree are chopped off by the men, freed of all twigs and thorns, and rapidly passed through the hot ashes of a fire; then the bark is loosened at one end by hammering, and the whole pulled off in strips with the hands. Next the women separate the innermost white layer of fibre from the rest of the bark, and after

3: Hoevelé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

Hannah said none of the people who had treated him so far had had the disease badly 755
enough, hence all the attempted cures had failed. It is interesting to note here that this 757
hoani bilp has to be treated with great deference. It is the root, which is astringent, [824]
(somewhat like ginger), which is used. When a person comes to the bush, before digging
he must put down a bracelet, or a bead, or some little thing. If he fails to do so, the
root will simply disappear. Later, if he divides it among his friends, the same process
takes place; each must give some little thing for the piece received. I was warned to
do the same when I received a piece but all the virtue leave the root, even if it did not
itself wholly disappear.

However it may be with the 'sacramental' meal, the purification meal certainly takes 783
place when the fire is cleaned away and renewed. The reintroduction to the duties of
life also takes place in the usual manner.

Peter Kolben, writing at the beginning of the 18th century, states that "if a Hotten-
tot, man or woman, recovers of a dangerous sickness, 'anbeenaikwe' is performed by
killing, for the entertainment of the kraal, a head of great or small cattle, according to
the circumstances of the family"[9]. This may be a feast similar to the one in which
all partake when the Ixazis leaves her khoti first.

The purification of the survivors after a death. The series of rites connected with 768
death have perhaps undergone more disintegration than any of the others described.
They have been telescoped, as it were, into one another, so that often enough as many
of them as remain are all carried out on the same day, after the burial is over. The old
writers, of whom Kolben is the earliest and the most detailed on this point, state quite
definitely that the hut of a deceased person was left standing with all the belongings, and
that the camp or kraal was moved. My informers state that in the earlier days of their
recollection the hut was always moved to some other part of the camp, whereas nowadays
the hut as a rule is not moved at all. Several deaths occurred while I was at Walfish
Bay, and one while I was in Bamaba, and in none of these cases was the hut moved. Yet
where an animal is to be had the feast takes place, and in any case the cleansing is 764
done even now. After a death not only the immediate relatives are affected, but also the
larger family circle, and there are interesting things to note in each case. If it is a husband
who has died, the wife becomes taus, but his relatives, brothers, sisters, parents, have also
to perform certain rites before the communial meal, and in a lesser degree all members of
the kraal who take part in the proceedings. It will be as well to describe these purifica-
tory rites before attending to the widow.

When the people come back from the grave, they all wash their hands in cold water

[9] Kolben's Hottentots. A translation from the High German by Medley; London, 1738, p. 215. (The High German version is itself a translation of P. Kolbe, Caput Bonae Spei hodiernum, Nuremberg, 1719).

Bay, where there are no cattle nowadays, with ground leaves pipe, goats' dung, and fat. Next, her whole body is rubbed with honey, and the hair is cut from the top of her head. In cutting off a bit of her hair, they spit on the end of it and say, "The next husband you get must be a lucky one, and get him quickly." The woman also puts on a complete set of new clothes.

All this time there is a pot on the fire in the hut with a small piece of meat in it which the old woman has fetched from the cooking pots. She takes some of the black from this pot, and puts a mark under each eye, "so that everything the widow meets may be nice to her", and also on the chest, "so that her food may go down nicely". The meat in the pot is eaten by the old woman. The hair which was cut off is mixed with the ash of the fire, and the whole is then removed from the hut and a fresh fire made. The next morning the widow will take the /drap, "contents of the animal's stomach", and, together with the old woman, who goes in front, will scatter them over the cattle kraals saying, "delbe /ske", "let there be plenty of milk". There follows the milking of a cow, the reintroduction to water, the fetching of wood, just as in the case of the ǂaxais.[1] The water ceremony was described to me as follows by Hahes. First the old woman sprinkles the widow with water saying "Xarí dama kaure ǂaka ǂaheb", "don't get thin, get fat like the ǂaka onion". Then they go together to the spring, where the old woman takes a stick, beats the water, and scatters it on the widow. She also dips her hand in the water, and sprinkles the widow's face and her whole body. Finally she puts clay on her legs saying again, "Xarí dama kaure ǂaka ǂaheb", and, filling the water pot, //ha-ǂa, she sets it on the widow's head. Then they go home.

If it is a woman who has died, the treatment of the husband is much the same, but Gottlieb gave me a few additional details. After the husband has been cleaned, two cuts are made on his forehead, and //aheb* juice is rubbed in. In the old days, as mentioned above, the cut was made with the //garib, a new piece being broken off for each occasion. The widower's hair is cut from the back of the head, also with the //garib. Before he has been cleaned in this way he must not leave the hut. After the hut has been cleaned, some dibi and //ghaab tree branches are soaked in water over night. Next morning the widower and his attendant go out among the cattle and sheep, and sprinkle them with this water.

When a child has died, both parents become taus, and have to be dealt with similarly.

* * *

I am fully aware how incomplete and indefinite these notes are in many details. It may well be that there is still some chance of filling in the gaps, especially for some

* A small shrub with astringent leaves.

[1] [ǂa. A young marriageable woman. See cat. 46, pp. 72 ff. -Analyst]

461 357 captives were so employed in olden times. Although such servants received no wages slavery was never known among the Nama. They were regarded as belonging to the family and quite often their masters were on very good terms with them.

262 It has already been mentioned that their diet consisted chiefly of milk and meat; but they never had a specific national food. They fed on whatever their environment offered them. Leaves of certain plants, bulbs, wild onions, berries of various shrubs, fish, birds, mice and lizards had to fill their dishes and to this very day such things are not scorned even by labourers, who get their daily ration of mealie-meal.

262 146 Nor is it desirable that the Nama should leave off eating the old field-food "veldkos" altogether, neither is it advisable for the Government to prohibit them from looking for food in the fields. This veld-kos constitutes the Nama's vegetables, and wherever the Namas deemed themselves too dignified to look for it, or where they could not find it, their health always suffered. Everything should be done to encourage the Nama to avail themselves fully of the veld-kos growing in their neighbourhood, as their wages are never [465] sufficient to enable them to buy vegetables regularly. Moreover, European vegetables are too strange and unpalatable to them.

244 797 7. Nowadays it is possible for only few to have their own gardens. During the time that the missionaries took pains to try to make the nomadic tribes fixed residents, they tried to introduce hitherto altogether unknown horticulture and here and there with success. To please the missionaries they planted pumpkins, mealies and other garden plants, now and again with good results. When, however, the exhortation of the missionaries ceased they neglected their gardens even where water conditions were favourable. Gardening requires daily and patient exertion as well as a disposition that can look ahead, and this does not appeal to the Nama when there are other ways of making a living.

224 8. The Nama is much more interested in hunting than in gardening. Their ancestors had applied themselves to it, and with bow and arrow, followed by well-trained dogs, they would chase game untiringly till they killed it. In addition to this 411 they knew the art of charging the points of their arrows with a home-made poison which they got by condensing the milk [828] sap of a certain euphorbia. After the Nama had become acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the gun, as well as gunpowder and lead, became the most popular trading articles of the travelling tradesmen. But fire-arms proving themselves very dangerous weapons in the hands of the Nama during their wars and rebellions of the last decade, few to-day are 262 privileged to possess a gun. It is not everything that falls to his gun on a hunting trip which is carried to the Nama

6: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1923
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Nama

ordinary duties of !Gêi Aop was to discover the source of the sickness. If, however, it was thought that he himself was causing sickness, the community had a sure way of protecting itself from him. For, cold water was absolutely fatal to his power, and in ordinary life he never touched it on any account. Should it be decided that the !Gêi aop has caused sickness or death among the people, the chief will order him to be deprived of all his powers. I have two instances in which this has happened: one among the Berseba people, one among the Zwartboys far to the north. The !Gêi aop is taken to the nearest pool of water, and is ducked completely. His power oozes away from him into the water as it were, and he is as an ordinary man once more. As the !Gêi aop is rendered innocuous, so, too, is his medicine. I was told in Walvis Bay by a mother how her daughter had been !Gêied, and how she nearly died, but how at length she got the medicine which is all powerful against all !Gêi methods. This is the //A lnaip, the kidney of a species of jackal, which has a smell so strong and penetrating, that it is too much even for any !Gêi medicine. When this was given to the girl, she vomited and brought up the little !Gêi sticks and leaves which had been doing all the mischief. The mother showed these sticks and leaves to some old men who took them all away and threw them into cold water, so that their power was gone for ever.

Another instance of the same kind is that of certain medicinal roots. When any of the roots which are considered really powerful are dug from the ground, something has to be given in return, otherwise the root will not act, and similarly when it is passed from person to person, a present must also be given. When taking the root one addresses it thus: " A, //na ta gye nesi go khau, o ta gye hui te damats, gara i o, !hâi //gama !na ni ke !gê tai." (Ah, there I have dug this, and if you don't help me, harming me rather, I shall throw you into cold water.)

All the foregoing instances illustrate the protective power of water. Things or persons which might harm members of the society are rendered harmless by immersion in cold water, or by the application of cold water to them, or, as in revisiting an old place of habitation, or on returning from the grave, one can protect oneself from harm by applying wet clay or water to oneself.

Before turning to the other set of examples in which water is considered dangerous, I should like to mention one or two customs from the literature. I could not find any evidence that these customs are kept up now by the tribes I have come in contact with, but they fit in very well with what I have been saying.

Peter Kolben* tells us that the Hottentots before crossing a river go down to the edge, splash themselves with water, and smear their foreheads with sand or clay.

* *Caput Bonæ Spei Hodiernum*, first German edition, 2nd part, 7th Letter, p. 62.

7:Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

South African Journal of Science, *Vol. XXV, pp. 433-447, December, 1928.*

THE MAGIC MEDICINE OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

BY

P. W. Laidler, L.R.C.S. & P., D.P.H., F.S.A. (Scot.),
Medical Officer of Health, East London.

Read 4 July, 1928.

Abstract.

Grevenbroeck (1685) and Kolben (1736), who is supposed to have copied most of his information from the first named, both give interesting accounts of the manners and methods of the Hottentot Medicine Man. There was evidently a classification, such as still exists in S.W. Africa and Namaqualand, of disease into minor and major troubles. Minor sicknesses were treated by the herbalists; in the major diseases the first step was consultation with the witch doctor. Divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal was used. There were distinct differences in the treatment of women and men. Much of the treatment was mere trickery such as sucking with the mouth of pieces of bone out of the back, and other such methods in which sleight of hand was useful.

All of the old observers from Grevenbroeck to Campbell in 1815, corroborate the noise cure, that is, that after medicines had failed, the patient was shaken, reproached for his intention of leaving this world by fair speeches and foul, and was thumped to keep life in him while the many helpers shrieked and howled. If he died during treatment, the noise was redoubled. After recovery an andersmaken or transition rite was undergone by the fortunate patient.

After the advent of the white man, small pox, measles and less cleanly illnesses swept the country like plagues. Previous to the new comers' appearance, the common diseases were sore breasts, ophthalmias and umbilical hernias, the last named due to the use of fat on the new born baby's umbilical cord which retarded drying. Coughs appear to have been common, but there are no ancient Hottentot remedies for rheumatism, venereal disease, or tuberculosis; those for the last two diseases are of quite recent origin. Those used for phthisis are used on the score of analogy; the chief symptom is a cough, therefore, those remedies used for simple coughs are given. For the wasting of advanced tubercular disease there is to-day one outstanding item, Kattendoorn root, the roots of which spread out horizontally beneath the surface of the ground, as do the veins beneath the skin of a muscular man. Therefore, it must, by Hottentot

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

argument, be a good "blood giver." This is an instance of the modern application of ancient sympathetic method.

The further information here gathered together, represents the work of four years' questioning, checking, and corroborating statements made by many herbalists, not a few of whom were also practitioners of witchcraft, that is, practitioners of major qualifications. One took four bottles of water mixed with earth and the ground remains of a certain little red-headed hornet that builds in houses and huts. Before rising each morning he drank a mouthful of the suspension. On the fifth day of this treatment; "there lay the sick people—and there lay the medicines. And now pressed the new power between the shoulders." Here, perhaps, is some small relic of the initiation of a man into the cult of P/gai° aup.

Only occasionally is there a little resemblance between the herbs used by the Native and those of the modern occidental pharmacopoeia. Yet there is a sufficient similarity between them to cause the scoffer to cease his scoffing, and realise that here, after all, lies the root and origin of modern medicine—modern scientific medicine which owes at least one of its drugs to this ancient Hottentot herbal, namely, Buchu. The bitter roots are similar in appearance on cross section, colour of infusion, taste, and action to the Radix Calumbae of modern pharmacy. But, with this one exception, there is no commercial future for any other item. The quantity of most of the herbs and medicinal bushes in the country is but small.

Red substances are used in anaemias and weaknesses, and repeated doses are given during fevers. They are used, several authorities state, because they are red and the blood is red, and therefore they strengthen the blood, and, of course, when grown on red ground, their value as drugs is increased enormously. All such red materials when used and finished with must be disposed of carefully, because good stuff must never be thrown away. Rooi wortle, for weaknesses, Baboon's ear, the Kalkoen bloem, Rooi rainkie, are examples, and in each the reason for use is their colour, and, should they grow in red ground, they must be good. The same principle is expressed in the use of the dark lichen which grows on almost all granite outcrops in Namaqualand, which is used in decoction as a mouth-wash for teething.

Bereud makes young people's medicine as the moon grows during the first days of the month, and never prepares any when the moon is on the wane. Yet he always examines cut sections of roots to see if they come from poor ground. He evidently works on a combination of "scientific" and "sympathetic" lines. The same medicine prepared in a different manner may have a different action. Thus, if black root be cut in an upward

[104] °For ease in printing and reading I have denoted the clicks thus:—D/ the dental; P/ the palatal; C/ the cerebral; L/ the lateral and X/ the guttural.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

direction it will act as an emetic; should it be cut downwards it is transformed into a purgative. The Fleer-boom, also, is used in this manner. Purgatives have a strange fascination for the Native, and for pains in the stomach or "fevers" they have been used to "work them out," that is, a tangible removal must always, they argue, be productive of good, for they firmly believe that whatever they suffer is caused by a tangible something.

Rule of thumb methods prevailed in treatment, and the lore was handed down from father to son. In the beginning, man noticed that when he awakened in the morning he felt at his best, worked, or hunted better than later in the day; slackened and grew tired as the sun sank beneath the western horizon. Then he jumped to the conclusion that the rising of the sun was responsible for well-being, growth, and strength; and that the falling, setting sun was responsible for tiredness, failing strength and death. Therefore, the old tooth was thrown towards the rising sun, but a P/gai aup or witch doctor would throw it towards the setting sun to produce an evil effect. A fright was something tangible, and Nama women still by palpation diagnose the presence of a lump, a crystallised fright that has settled in the stomach. They state too, that the woman's "life place" resides on the right side, and that when she is sickly it moves about.

From the details of this herbal lore it appears that the chief medical ailments treated by the Hottentots were pains in the stomach and fevers, classed together as "fires," and distinguished only by locality, flatulence as an entity, diarrhoea, and among the accidental injuries, burns. Several specific complaints had specific treatment. Kolben described the treatment of headache by shaving the head with a sharp knife, leaving furrows between the mounds of hair. If the cause was supposed to be a "wind in the head," then massage was applied to the nape of the neck; and snuff of "dooba," which smells of garlic (asafoetida) was used. A case occurred during 1922 in Namaqualand of scarification of the temples as treatment for madness. Old writers mention this as the means whereby pains were let out. Infantile convulsions must have given the old women much work. A favourite prescription for this complaint was, and still is, Stink kruit leaves, the dried kidney of the D/aiq jackal, and the sea bean, whatever that may be. Of these a powder is made which is worked into a linen band (in old days, a strip of hide) and fastened round the neck of the small patient. Small doses are then given internally mixed with mother's milk. The treatment is continued for one moon.

Alternating periods of famine and feast upset many stomachs. When excess was recognised to be the cause of his discomfort, the Hottentot took the juice of aloes in warm broth. The leaves to-day are dried and chopped up as required.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

278 757

Quickgrass, P/arre, which has jointed roots of tremendous length, is used in decoction for coughs.

Baboon rope, P/nyra sooriep, a species of liana, is burned and the ash sprinkled on ringworms. Several of the modern herbalists use it in decoction for boils, administered internally, as also they use the smaller climber, bakker bosch, *Cynanchum capense*, Thun. *Passerina filiformis*, P/tou, which when lighted disappears in a blaze of flame, whence its usefulness to the baker after whom it is named, is used in decoction for shooting pains.

Suitduizel, *Berkheyra* sp. a holly-like little bush about three feet high that grows near rivers and springs, is used in decoction for the same ailment. Sam uses it in powder as a plaster for burns and boils.

Candle bush, *Sarcocaula Burmanse*, a smaller variety *Patersonii*, is gathered, pounded fine, and used as an astringent for diarrhoea. Because of its laborious method of preparation it is named D/nou D/nou, which Sam translates as "work-work," but which is evidently an onomatopoetic word representing the sound of the stamping. The root is ground fine and used as a poultice, which is peppery and acts like a mustard plaster.

Gums and resins are used to only a small extent.

[824 262]

Heyra, the exudation of the acacia tree, is used as a food, and when boiled with fat as a salve for whitlows and boils. Possibly the ease with which the tree exudes this substance was the starting point of this use.

Scaap rapayce, D/ta dou, a resin greener than the others, is eaten by animals, but not used much by man.

D/Goonu, the resin of several species of Euryops, is gathered in the sands of Bushmanland where, having dropped from the stems of the bushes, it forms black concretions beneath; this is the reason that it is thought most of. It is boiled and the bitter decoction used in fevers. The red resin obtained from the woody parts of the same bush is also used. The stems of this plant when old are reddish and inflammable, even in wet weather.

PURGATIVES.

Purgatives are in great request. P/gameroo, a whitish tuber with flat, green leaves not unlike those of the pumpkin, is cut and boiled, and the liquor is used as emetic and purgative, in stomach complaints.

Kraaibosch, D/nareeree; *Roycna hirsuta* L.; wild gentian, known as the Ambiaer bosch, or piles bush, *Chiroma baccijeca*, of the decoction of which two mouthfuls is an efficient dose, have a rapid effect. It is also used in decoction for boils.

SNUFFS.

As well as snuffs to drive out the infection of death there were snuffs that cured headaches.

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
FX13 Hottentot FX13

children affected with snuffles or coryza. In some cases it is applied over the whole body. The name of the ostrich egg shell is aboo P/nooroo.

Many bushes have interesting non-medical uses. Guaap, *Stapelia filifera*, a cucumber-like growth, is used as a thirst quencher; Vaarkies blaar is used after the eating of the flesh of animals that have died of anthrax, not as the Kafirs use certain shrubs to prevent the disease, but as an application to the boils that subsequently appear. Yet in 1923 several Bastards in Bushmanland died from the effects of eating anthrax-infected meat. L/kau D/han, the fleisch-bosch or meat bush, has hard twigs with thick fleshy leaves, and is so named by the Dutch because the Hottentots used it as a support for meat after slaughtering to keep it off the sand, the reason for the choice of this particular bush being that, though in contact with the meat, it did not taint it. The P/abee, or fluities-bosch, the flute bush, was stripped of its bark to make a species of pipes of Pan, when no reeds were obtainable. It is never used now, and only the name survives to keep alive the memory of the Hottentot reed dances.

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

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[437]
ever been at the Fort. They came there with the chief of the Chainouquas to barter some cattle and sheep, and then immediately went back home with him.

[231]
The Heusaquas are rich in cattle. Moreover they alone (for none of the other Hottentots in this country plant or sow the ground) also support themselves by planting a certain powerful root which they name *dacha*[53]). This they eat to become drunk, although they also sometimes mix it with water for drinking. Whenever the eating or drinking of this root affects their brains and makes them giddy, they behave like crazy and senseless people, performing all sorts of strange gestures and wonderful grimaces. In the midst of this hullaballoo the women come and strew over their heads a finely-stamped and ground herb named *boggoa*[54]). This herb, which is yellow and has a powerful odour, grows in great abundance in clusters on the rocks of the mountains. It is gathered by the men and prepared by the women.

276
[302
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Close to the Heusaquas are the Hankumquas[55]), rich in people and cattle. They have however never been to our countrymen at the Fort.

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The Heusaquas are especially clever in handling young and old lions, which they know how to catch in snares and tame, like dogs, with a collar round the neck. They even set out for war with lions which they have long had and completely tamed, and in this way are able to set the enemy to flight without encountering any resistance. This may seem strange to many readers, but is nevertheless actually the practice amongst them[56]).

* * * *

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was known of them in 1661 is summarized by van Riebeeck as follows: "These Hancumquas, as we have always been able to understand, must be the greatest and most powerful of all the dirty Hottentoo tribes, living like all the others in huts of matting, but of a much larger size. They live permanently on the same spots, where they plant dacha. The chief of the tribe seems to be the paramount chief over all the Choequees or Kings" (*Letters dasp.*, iii, 243). Later explorers did not succeed in discovering the Hancumquas, unless, says Maingard, we are prepared to identify them with the Inqua, ruled over by Hykon, "who might, by inaccurate reporters, have been quite conceivably given the name of Hykonqua, or the men of Hykon" (op. cit., 462). (On the Inqua, cf. Schryver's Journal, ed. by E. E. Mossop. V.R.S. 12.)

[55]) Another exaggeration. The official records speak merely of "a certain nation, of whom the Emissary from the Heusaquas said that they keep the lions so tame and use them as we do dogs" (Letters dasp., iii, 243). This emissary, when questioned by van Riebeeck, "told us many wonderful things which he would make us believe, but time will be our best teacher". Nothing is said about the use of lions in war. (D., Feb. 11-13, 1661.)

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Infants and old persons, women and men are equally addicted to tobacco: and jealous though they are of what is their own, yet among companions they hand a lighted pipe around in turns. There grows in these shores a root of the African Arum, with such a pungent taste that it not only burns the tongue but sharply cuts it. It deserves to be classed among the poisons. The Hottentots mitigate the pungency by cooking (the fire expels the hurtful sulphur, and at the same time binds the volatile and biting salt) to make the plant fit for food; and it is a feast for hedge-hogs, which are here of a remarkable appearance. They also feed on quite inedible things, like dried and dusty skins (often such as have been long in use as shoes), and even on excrements, but always mixed with other things; for to a man they are without delicacy or niceness, not even excluding the king, miserable beggarly wretches, like almost all negroes.

CHAP. XVII.

Their Mode of War.

Nothing could be more unfriendly than this region, where the savage storms and stony mountains are matched by the character of the inhabitants. Their rough and cunning disposition sorts ill with the easy temper of our countrymen, and they resort to war upon the slightest cause. Their weapons are, in addition to a skin cloak which they use instead of a shield, the bow and javelins. These are either projectiles (i.e. hurled straight at the mark), commonly called *assegais*, which they can direct so accurately at a mark that they can hit a fixed point at a distance of forty paces, and which they fling with a downward motion of the arm; or else designed for carrying to a distance, in which case they are balanced by two wings, and being skilfully launched with great force fly and transfix the enemy. They usually imbue these weapons with poison in the following way: they irritate a viper or other noxious snake, then into the mouth of the angry creature they repeatedly plunge the tip of the weapon. They bind the creature to prevent the weapon from falling out, they enrage it to increase the strength of the poison, and then chop its head off.[50]) It is from maxillary glands that vipers spit

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first tie up the aforesaid bladder near to the tooth with a fine thread, in order to prevent the venom from escaping. Then when the bladder is dry they divide and smear the desired weapon with it" (Waterhouse, *Simon v. d. Stel's Journal*, 164-5). Cf. also *Schapera*, *op. cit.*, 139 ff.

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

repudiant, faciuntque divortium. Nubtiarum solennia haec sunt: *Borem*, binasve tresve, quandoque plures, jugulant *oves*, carnem excoriatam & tantillum aeri expositam cum propria pecudis adipe in dictis ollis excoquunt, intestina sub cineribus assant, atque apparatis epulis necessarios invitant, & opponunt haec bellaria, suo se oblectantes more.

CAP. XXIV.

De liberorum educatione.

In puerperis facilis laboris naturalia vincula dextre satis ligare ac solvere norunt; ubi vero difficilis partus forte ingruit, adhibent quandam mirandae efficaciae *plantam*, foetum commode expellentem; quam nullo pretio ab illis sive per me sive per alios, redimere potui: id enim communicare lege prohibitum esse, regerebant. Puerperae non diu latent; liberos sine ordine & inconcinne admodum educant barbarae matres; postquam per duas aut tres hebdomadas in mapalibus retinuerint eosdem, nullis unquam fasciis involutos, dorso appendunt suo; quadriestribus paullo majores fumare *petum*,* octimestres pedibus incedere, colobio tunc donandos, mihi ratum fecit quinquennis hujus regionis hospes; octennes novennesque tractare arma, arcum etiam & tela; ubi parentes cibum saepius eminus collocant, ad quem toties collineare debent, donec eundem inveniant, famem tamdiu perferre coacti.

* *Petum* is unknown to me. B.P.

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[48]) The marriage feast did not constitute the marriage ceremony, as Ten Rhyne's remarks would seem to imply. Grevenbroek gives a more adequate description, see below, p. 201.

[49]) The modern half-breed Hottentots of Little Namaqualand use *Mesembrianthemum edule*, stamped and given as a pulp, in cases of delayed labour or retained afterbirth; and *Euphorbia resinifera* for tedious labour. (Schapera, *op. cit.*, 412.)

[50]) The period of seclusion, according to Grevenbroek (see below, p. 203) was at least eight days.

[51]) This Spartan training is not confirmed by other writers. Ten Rhyne's statement that Hottentot infants four months old are taught to smoke is exceeded only by Tavernier's fantastic

[See 10: Grevenbroek, this File. — Ed.]

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

if the marriage does not turn out satisfactorily, they put the woman away and make a divorce. Marriages are solemnized in the following way: they kill an ox, two or three or sometimes more sheep, then they skin the carcases and having exposed them for a little to the air they cook them with the animal's own fat in the pots we have mentioned; the innards they roast beneath the ashes, and when the feast has been prepared they summon their kin and set these dainties before them, enjoying themselves in their own way [48]).

CHAP. XXIV.

The Education of the Children.

If a woman is in easy childbed they are sufficiently skilful in binding and severing nature's links; but when a difficult labour sets in, they invoke the aid of a plant of wonderful efficiency, which happily expels the foetus [50]). I could not succeed in purchasing this plant at any price either directly or through others. Their reply always was that they are forbidden by law to share it. Women who have had a child are not long in retirement [51]). They bring their children up without any regularity or niceness, as you would expect from savages. After keeping them two or three weeks in the huts, they then sling them on their backs without any swaddling bands whatever. At a little more than four months old they begin to smoke and at eight months to walk upright, at which time they are given a kaross, according to information given me by one who had resided five years in the place. When they are eight or nine they begin to handle arms, both the bow and spears. Their parents often place their food at a distance; at this they must keep on aiming till they hit it, being compelled meantime to go on fasting [52]).

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tale that "as soon as a male is born his mother partially castrates him, and gives him sea-water to drink, and tobacco to eat"! (*op. cit.*, 392).

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
NAMA

Angry humours, inflations, inflammations, tumours and other swellings they treat by sucking with their mouths as successfully as our physicians by cupping.[44]) I am informed by the parents that a European girl scarcely ten years old was treated in this way by a native woman who managed to suck from the pudenda a stone the size of a bean. 752

When a convalescent has been strengthened by wholesome broths and medicines, the priest or soothsayer shaves all his hair off with a razor. Then he rubs him from the tips of his toes to the hair on his head with green leaves, like our willows, but smaller, and with a smell like apple-skin. After that he washes him in warm water, and, finally, when the cure is complete, in cold. Furthermore a sacrifice for health is made with a sheep or two, and if the restored invalid is sufficiently rich in cattle, the victim may be an ox or other plough-animal or draught-animal. The priest smears the man with the fat of the victim and sprinkles him with bochu powder; next the entrails of the animal are plaited and hung round his neck like an amulet; then his blanket is anointed with fat and sprinkled with bochu, and at last he is let go, well and whole, to banquet with his fellows. The doctor's reward is to be welcomed among his friends at a feast of thanksgiving for his recovery.[44]) 757 782 [824] [574]

Healing or noxious plants and their qualities they know extremely well. I remember their pointing out a flower to me and telling me that, when it sprouts from the earth, their women every year in the month of September during several days fall into a deep sleep and drowsiness; it is as if a torpor had overcome them, and they lie snoring in a sort of cataleptic trance till late in the day[44]). They are also able to foretell the weather; nor do they seem to be wholly ignorant of the various movements of the stars and constellations, as may be inferred from an instance I shall quote below. 824 278 821

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[44]) This rite appears to be essentially the same as that still performed among the Nama, although it varies somewhat in detail. At the end of any grave illness, the patient, who has hitherto been secluded in a hut where he was subject to various taboos, is ceremonially cleansed with a mixture of moist cowdung and mineral powder, is given a new set of garments to wear, takes part in a special purification meal with all the other people who have recovered from the same disease, and is finally ceremonially reintroduced to all the ordinary daily tasks from which he was cut off during his seclusion (Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé, *Harvard African Studies*, ii, 71-9; *cf.* Schapera, 406-7, 255 ff.).

[44]) I have been unable to find any confirmation for this statement, and cannot imagine to what plant G. is referring.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

The possessions of one deceased fall to his sons in equal proportions; if they fail, the next of kin succeeds.[44]) A brother inherits the property of a brother, not the father. In the last event an outsider is called in, for the daughters are forever debarred from inheriting from a father, a brother, or any other source. And indeed by the most ancient law of nations they are regarded as the end of one family and the beginning of another, and are made of small account(?). S 428

It is the native fashion to dress like herds in skins, and they all go clad in the hides of lions, leopards, tigers, zebras, sheep and other animals wild or domesticated. The skins are prepared by being softened in fat and grease and well worked. Sometimes they wear them inside-out. They are very particular to wrap themselves each in his own skin, and never to throw away an old one. I have however occasionally seen a distinguished warrior, who was a mighty man of action, or one conspicuous above his fellows for his fine physique or greatness of mind or lofty stature or noble birth, dressed in a skin of a distinctive colour and with a tasselled edge. H 291 H [554]

Like all Africans and Asiatics they rub their limbs with any sort of fat, just as if it was olive oil, anointing themselves copiously as a protection against the danger of sun, cold or disease. The noisome stench of which our people accuse them is to be ascribed not to dirt but rather to a plant known to European botanists and called Bochu by the natives. This they crush with stones and reduce to a powder, and then sprinkle or rub on their heads as a sweet fumigatory, potent charm, or disinfectant scent. Strangers find the smell of this plant unpleasant, heavy, and offensive, but to those who have had time to become accustomed to it, it seems choice, fragrant and agreeable. H 302 H [824]

They set very great store by the plant Daggha, as they call it, the roots of which they make into little cakes not exceeding in size the silver coin known in the vernacular as a rix dollar; and these they chew, as the Indians do opium and the Egyptians cetum. It puts them to sleep, but never maddens them. H 276

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to daughters" (Kidsbergen, III, 68). Actually, in any Xhosa household, the principal heir is the eldest son of the first wife, who has to make provision for his younger brothers and sisters; in polygynous households, the eldest son of each wife inherits all the property alloted by the father during his lifetime to that wife, but the eldest son of the first wife succeeds to the headship of the family. If a man has no sons, his property is inherited by his father if still living; if not, then by his eldest brother of the same "house". (Maclean, *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, 1858, 71-72). S 428

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Note : Henceforth, explained *Iis* and *Meis*, she ceased to be a */ho:s* and became an *oaxais*, until her marriage when she became a *taras* or wife. *Iis* added that they were too poor nowadays to keep up such an elaborate ritual, which sometimes lasted for months.

This ceremonial has been described extremely briefly for the Korana by Wuras (loc. cit.) For the Naman, see Schapera (op. cit. p. 272-279) who analyses all the previous accounts and gives his sources as usual. The fullest Nama description is that of Mrs. Hoernlé (*Harvard African Studies*, ii. pp. 70-74). Her account substantially agrees with the above text. It contains a full timing of the proceedings and lays stress on the festivities and other details. There is in both accounts the same symbolical return to the household duties and the same renewal of the initiate's contact with water after her long period of impurity and seclusion, as well as her inability to do the normal things of life, while she is cut off from her fellow creatures. Likewise the sacramental meal is restricted to women and only to women who are free from their periods.

The *sâb* spoken of in the Korana text is a sweet-smelling powder. *Khais* brought me some and she and *Iis* separated its constituent elements. They are as follows : (i) */haep ;* (ii) */ui sâb*, a green lichen growing on stones ; (iii) */harɔb*, " veld biesies," roots only ; (iv) */hu !hûb ;* (v) */gwabeb* grows in vleis, only found at Warrenton on the Vaal in winter ; and lastly the */homabab* root, of the colour of the earth, and reduced to small pieces. The mixture must smell sweet (*/gâi haes*). The women use it not only as described above, but also on their armpits and to rub babies with.

It might be well to add the few words I have collected about their marriage. No more elaborate ceremonies now exist. In former times, twenty oxen, they said, were killed for the festivities, which were accompanied by the ǂɛ:ɔ:di and dancing. The *aba gomas* was given to the mother of the bride by the bridegroom and the young bride was welcomed with more festivities and dancing into the bridegroom's kraal. When a child was born a */naes /ho:na gomab*, " an ox for the newborn children " was given to the mother, if a boy was born. If a girl, a cow was given, */naes /ho:na gomas*.

The life history of *Iis*

gei !hoab kurib !na Iis hje !hhoub kx'ai !nas ha. ihje !houb hxoa kx'omina !go kx'ai. //na: //kas, kx'omina /harukxoa xu die ha. ihje /harukxoa /hâb xu die, ihje tarakhxoedi !garib !na /hâkxoa di /hoa /hoa.

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

Wikar has a full description of these bows and arrows of the Bushmen and of the pastoral people who dwell along the river (" de veeryke naties langs deeze rivier leggende " (G. M. ii. p. 130-131) as also the poisons used by them and their origin (ibid. pp. 131-133). 114

PASTIMES

The making of the *!goa !harib* (honey beer) 273 539

dausa u: ≠he:i.

||nâib ina !hûe, ina |kû |kûe, ina ||karae, ina thamsa !haib ab u:e. ina dausa |kua ≠gobe.

ina |hamsa ||gammi ka ≠na ≠amme. ina o !go kx'aie. ina |kû |kûe.

Translation :

Honey is put in.

The *||nâib* root is stamped. It is boiled. Then it is sifted. Then its soft portion is taken. Then it is mixed with the honey. [824]

Then boiling water is poured around it. Then it is covered up. Then it boils itself.

Note :

Beer-making is given under the present heading, as the beer was an essential part of all festivities. It has often been the subject of travellers' remarks, Thunberg, Wikar and Alexander, to mention the most prominent among them. Thunberg (1774 " *Travels.*" II p. 150 and 167) calls the substance which acts as the fermenting agent by its Dutch name *moer-wortel*. Wikar (1778-1779, G. M. II, p. 92) has given a very full description : " Every day our company makes beer, the " dregs " (*moer*) through which the beer works is the root of the above-named *koap* or " hasrwortel," which is dried and stamped and helps the warm, sweet honey water to work."—a description which concords with the Korana text given to me by *Tabab*. Wikar adds some further interesting details about the feasting that follows. The *||nâib* was described by *Tabab* as " 'n wortel met rooi blommetjes." According to Pettman (*Africanderisms,*) the *Mesembryanthemum Mill* is the root used. It seems that different roots were used in different places. 114 273 824

Games

(i) The *||kuːs*. This game is well known from the descriptions of observers like Schultze (*Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, p. 313-315). The 524

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

"Vaderlandze of fluytjesriet." The Hartebeestrivier, is, of course, a tributary of the Orange on the South side, about Long. 20½, Lat. 29½. 133

Wuras, in his *An Account of the Kowana* (MSS. 1858), states on p. 295 (reprinted in *Bantu Studies, Vol. III. p.* 287), "The Aas (the reed play or dance). The day on which the play begins, the men make flutes of reed all of which must have the same tone" (sic). "They then stand in a circle, the music master comes round and listens, if all the flutes are in tune. When he declares them to be in unison," (sic) "the dance commences. The men blowing the flute move in time in a circle; the women form a second circle, and, enclosing the men, dance round them clapping their hands. The dance lasts the whole night. The greatest immorality prevails during these plays, of which there are several. In some of them they imitate the howls and cries of different animals, and at sunrise the men rush to the kraal and catch the sheep and goats for the day's feast, howling like many wolves." 533 535

Engelbrecht and Meinhof practically confine themselves to giving the name and simple definitions of the instrument. Engelbrecht calls the flute *ǂâs* and describes it as "a flute made of reed. Of these, different sizes existed, and the tone was also different. The people stood in a circle, and thereupon played and danced." Meinhof calls the reed-flute *ǂ'îs* and the reed-dance *ǂ'îs-s/aŝ-b*, and further states, "They" (the Korana) "have no drum," (sic,) "but like the Nama, they have a reed-flute. The women sing and the men play upon the reed-flute." 534

My informants were the oldest men, since the reed-dance has been completely stamped out by the missionaries, some of whom have recorded their pleasure at succeeding in eradicating it. In the Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, Year 1830, p. 44, written from Plaatberg, occurs the following statement regarding the Korana. "During the last year we have got several hymns into use among the people whom we frequently hear singing them in their private houses; and the rapidity with which the songs of Zion supplant the melancholy lore" (printer's error for *gora*, v. infra) "and the whistling reed is truly surprising." This then, was the view of the missionary Archbell, shared, it may be added, by many other missionaries. This particular mission was started in 1827 and ended in 1833. That the "songs of Zion" had no very lasting effect upon the Korana will be seen when their vocal music is discussed. One old man, named Matiti, undertook to make several reed-flutes for me. The proper material was, they said, river reed, but as the only available supplies in the Vaal River were either distant or in deep water, they only procured one stem as a sample. This 533 177 797 534 824 115

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

534 824 115 type of reed is thin, being not more than half an inch in diameter (outside measurement) and having a bore of about three-eighths of an inch in diameter. It is regarded as suitable for the manufacture of reed-flutes because of the comparative uniformity of the bore and because the trifling nodal obstructions inside the reed are easily removed, leaving a clear-bore tube. Matiti cut off a length of this reed measuring about 15½ inches, and cleared the bore with a length of wire, since a suitable straight stick was not available. One of the women had in the meantime obtained a handful of ordinary rushes, and she now chewed these, throwing away the pith and leaving the tough fibre, which she straightened out and handed to the old man. Matiti took some of this fibre and rolled it into a ball, which he proceeded to chew. When it was more or less compressed, he took it between his finger and thumb, and pushed it into the wider end of the pipe, forcing it down by means of the wire plunger. I may mention that at first he tried to push it into the narrow end, his sight not being too good, but the others pointed out his error and set him right. He then tried to sound the flute, but since the plug of rush fibre was not air-tight, no clear note could be produced. Upon this, a woman fetched some water, which Matiti poured into the tube, and kept there for some minutes until the plug had swollen, after which he emptied it out and tested the flute as before. This time the tone was clear and ringing. The reed-flute was held in the left hand, the orifice being laid above the hollowed tongue, and not against the lips as is the case with the tube of a panpipe. No "ictus" could be obtained. The fingers steadied the tube against the chin.

534 115 I then endeavoured to have a set constructed, and for this purpose several reeds were obtained from gardens in the neighbourhood of Bloemhof. From these reeds Matiti and another old man, Tebeb, prepared six reed-flutes, but were not very well satisfied with them. They seemed to find difficulty in remembering how they should be tuned, and suggested that their oldest living friend, named Daob, who had his home at some little distance, should be sent for, since he was a musician, and knew all about these things. We were, however, only able to get hold of Daob on the day before our return from Bloemhof, but he proved to be a particularly interesting personality. Daob was completely blind, and consequently our investigation was much hampered. But his vitality and good humour were amazing, and when the set of reeds was put into his hands, he felt them all over, tried to blow one, and finding difficulty, tested all the reeds at both ends by suction, to see whether the plugging was efficient. Apparently he was annoyed, for he burst into Bushman, and then told the ancient Korana that they knew nothing about the reeds.

The most costly present lovers could lavish on each other was buχu, and these sweet aromatic herbs of a certain Diosma were also sprinkled on those cairns which still are objects of worship, and where they assembled to offer prayers to the deceased or to the Supreme Being Tsuiǂgoab. We know that in the earliest times a large trade was carried on (ǂhamab, trade, ǂhamagu, to trade, to exchange, to barter), not only with pottery, dishes, spears, and knives, but chiefly with Buχu. And the leaves of the *Diosma* growing on the Khamies Bergen, the Lange Zwarte Bergen (‡Nu-ǂkhara, a name still remembered by the old men of the ǂAmas tribe), and of the ǂKhomab Mountains in Great Namaqualand, and of ‡Nu-ǂhoas opposite Sandwich harbour, were known all over the Khoikhoi territory.

That the eyes of the ancient Khoikhoi were early directed towards the sky, we shall see from a myth in the following chapter. The stars too were an early object of contemplation to them, as is evident from the number of names for the stars. Certain it is that the ǀKhâsti (ǀKhunusetí) or Pleiades, the Belt of Orion or ǂgoreya the Zebras, ε Orionis χamí, the Lion, ε Tauri (Aldebaran) aob, the husband, were known to all the Khoikhoi before the separation. There was a star-mythology, and things in the blue vault went on in the same way as here on earth.

The ancient Khoikhoi were a brave and warlike people, and it characterises their wars that women and children were spared. *War* was *toroh*, from *toro*, to *love*, to *perforate*; thus war means the perforator. Bravery was highly admired, and girls used to meet the victorious heroes (ǂgari-b, ǂgob, ǂi-aob) who returned to the kraals laden with booty, singing their praise. Such heroes had then to undergo a ceremony. The priest or ǂgaiaob cut certain marks on the chest of the brave man with a flint stone, and he received them on such an occasion a cognomen as Xama-ǂgamteb, Lion-killer, ǂOtaitamab, The One who cannot die, Aogu‖ǂb, Destroyer of heroes, &c. Names of places

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

7. To ground on some account of superstitious customs and manners, Dapper, in his description of Africa, p. 621, tells us:—"Some of them wear round the neck roots, which they find far inland, in rivers, and being on a journey they light them in a fire or chew them, if they must sleep the night out in the field. They believe that these roots keep off the wild animals. The roots they chew are spit out around the spot where they encamp for the night; and in a similar way if they set the roots alight, they blow the smoke and ashes about, believing that the smell will keep the wild animals off.

I had often occasion to observe the practice of these superstitious ceremonies, especially when we were in a part of the country where we heard the roaring of the lions, or had the day previously met with the footprints of the king of the beasts.

8. The Korannas also have these roots as safeguards with them. If a Commando (a warlike expedition) goes out, every man will put such roots in his pockets and in the pouch where he keeps his bullets, believing that the arrows or bullets of the enemy have no effect, but that his own bullets will surely kill the enemy. And also before they lie down to sleep, they set these roots alight, and murmur, "My grandfather's root, bring sleep on the eyes of the lion and leopard and the hyena. Make them blind, that they cannot find us, and cover their noses, that they cannot smell us out." Also, if they have carried off large booty, or stolen cattle of the enemy, they light these roots, and say: "We thank thee, our grandfather's root, that thou hast given us cattle to eat. Let the enemy sleep, and lead him on the wrong track, that he may not follow us until we have safely escaped."

9. Another sort of shrub is called ǂâ-ǂâ. Herdsmen, especially, carry pieces of its wood as charms, and if cattle or sheep have gone astray, they turn a piece of it in the fire, that the wild animals may not destroy them. And they believe that the cattle remain safe until they can be found the next morning.

14:Hahn L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

10. The root of a shrub called ǂKhoraḃ is taken and cut to pieces, and minced on stones. If one is hungry, he takes the dust and goes to his neighbour's house, where he throws it into the fire, expecting that food will be offered to him. This kind of charm is called the *Aoǂâtes*, or food-finder, food-provider.

11. The roots of a shrub ǂaḃus are also taken and thrown into milk, in order to cause the death of the person who drinks of it. The root is not poisonous at all, and still it is believed to cause the death of a person.

12. Another class of sorcerers, who in former times must have been very numerous, but since the introduction of Christianity are only met here and there on the kraals of the heathen tribes, are chiefly occupied in making rain. Having a great practical knowledge of the meteorology of their country, they pretend to have power over the clouds and to bind them. Thus they sprinkle their urine into a burning fire, being convinced that it soon will rain. They also cut the nails of their fingers, and throw them into the fire for the same purpose. They catch a kind of caprimulgus (ǂgôǁgoeb), and burn the bird to ashes, which are strewn about, in order to produce clouds and ashes. These sorcerers naturally take good care not to display their tricks of witchcraft if there are, according to their own practical experience, no sufficient indications of certain rain.

Throughout the Khoikhoi territory, as far as I could ascertain, the northerly breezes are called tuǂoab—*i.e.*, rain-wind—showing that in the remotest ages the observation was made that the northerly wind was the bearer of rain.

13. Also, if the goats commence to shake their heads and rattle with their ears, it is believed that it will soon rain. It is a matter experienced by every one, that when the weather is very close, the mosquitoes and a smaller kind of flies are very numerous and troublesome. In summer the easterly wind is very close, and as soon as the wind turns